The Freeman.

"Ye Shall Know the Truth, and the Truth Shall Make You Free."

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The Freeman.

An Independent Political Journal, Devoted the Advancement of Honest Politics, Civil Service and Tariff Reform.

LOUIS HOWLAND, EDITOR.

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THE Administration is likely to have a stormy time in the next two years, for it has made hosts of enemies and few friends. There is just enough of civil service reform about it—and that is precious little—to anger the Jeffersonians, and not enough to commend it to the sincere and earnest believer in civil service reform. We don't want to be disrespectful to those in authority or to speak evil of dignities, but it seems to us that Mr. Cleveland has shown himself a very successful "What is it?" If this be thought too trifling, we can at least apply to him the curse pronounced upon the Church at Laodicea, "Because thou art neither hot nor cold I will spew thee out of my mouth." We believe that that will be the verdict of the American people upon Grover Cleveland as a civil service reformer.

MR. CLEVELAND has not improved the situation by his letter to Mr. Stone, the Republican District Attorney recently suspended for offensive partisanship or "pernicious activity" or something else awful. The President in substance says that a man may make campaign speeches if he only speaks on the Administration side. This is civil service reform with a vengeance. The Cleveland administration is, we believe, past saving so far as concerns civil service reform.

MR. MCCULLOCH'S views on the anarchist trials are perfectly consistent with his whole economic philosophy, and should excite no surprise whatever. It is not worth while to attempt to controvert them, for few people will be influenced by what he says; and as for hoping to set him right, it is impossible to convert a man who believes that he is the prophet of a new dispensation, and one of the central figures in a great industrial revolution.

WE are, however, sorry to see that the Knights of Labor in Chicago and elsewhere are passing resolutions of sympathy with the scoundrelly murderers about whom Mr. McCulloch says so many fine things. It has not been long since this organization was in a great hurry to disclaim all connection with the Chicago anarchists. Our socialistic friends, too, who thought that the Knights of Labor could do no wrong were very emphatic in repudiating any connection between the socialists—Christian or not—and the anarchists. We remember that we were roundly abused for pointing out the socialistic, if not anarchistic, drift of the labor societies. Now we find that we were not so far wrong, and the discovery gives us no pleasure. We think that the American workingmen had better go a little slow before they tie their cause to that of Mr. McCulloch's pets.

THE surprising thing about the Blaine-Edmunds row is that Edmunds should want to shake hands with Blaine. It's a small business all round.

THE article on page 79, clipped from the *Nation*, entitled "Tramp Politics," is full of suggestive thoughts, and should be carefully read by our friends of the Blaine persuasion.

WE have no hopes of being able to enlighten our philistine contemporary, the Indianapolis *Journal*. But we will say that we do not think that we praised Mr. Cleveland very extravagantly when we said that we should support him as against Mr. Blaine, for we should support even Mr. Voorhees, not very enthusiastically, it is true, were we to be shut up to a choice between him and the Maine statesman. In doing so, however, we should not maintain that Voorhees was a civil service reformer.

NEXT week we shall print a communication from General Trumbull, of Chicago, in which he discusses the present condition of the free trade cause, and takes THE FREEMAN to task for the words of commendation it recently spoke of Mr. Carlisle. We don't think that things are in quite so bad a condition as General Trumbull would have us believe, but it is at least true that they are not in anything like so good a condition as we could wish. Mr. Trumbull has no confidence in any of the Democratic leaders, and he certainly makes out a strong case against them. We feel sure that the letter will be read with great interest, and we hope that it will bear fruit in the way of vigorous and intelligent action on the part of free traders.

SOCIALISM AND ANARCHISM.

The socialists are always very quick to disclaim any connection with the anarchists—so quick, indeed, as to make it clear that they recognize the fact that there is enough similarity between them to create some confusion upon the subject in the popular mind. No one else feels the necessity of guarding against the effects of this confusion.

In spite, however, of their disclaimer, we notice that whenever an anarchist gets into trouble our socialistic brethren begin to whimper and cry just as though the noose were tightening about their own necks. There must, therefore, be some connection between these two schools of philosophy, if it be only the bond of sympathy. In truth, the socialist and anarchist have much in common. Their methods differ somewhat, but they neither of them know what they want further than the overthrow of the present social and industrial system. They agree fully in this—that the present system must go, but there is some disagreement as to how we are to get rid of it. With this point once admitted, however, we say that the methods of the anarchist are logically right. If property is a crime, he is right in waging war against it. If capitalists are all bloody and cruel tyrants, the dynamite bomb is not such a bad weapon to use against them. If it is right to ruin a man's business by boycotting him and all who buy of him, it is quite as right and much more effective to do it by burning down his establishment and cutting his throat. If, when B persists in competing with A, he is guilty of such an offense as will warrant A in clubbing him, there is no reason why A should not go on and club him to death. If it be true that we are to have a revolution which will overthrow existing systems, there can be no possible objection to using the weapons of revolution. The anarchists simply take the socialists at their word; things are all wrong, "therefore," so they say, "let's inaugurate the blessed revolution." The socialist does the thinking and the anarchist does the work. The socialist says "such and such things ought not be;" the anarchist says, "Well, they shan't be," and he proceeds to make his words good, and when he is called to account for his action his socialistic ally deserts him until the gallows looms up on the horizon.

We say that the men who have been preaching this crusade against our civilization are largely responsible for the situation in Chicago, and we don't wonder that they feel badly about it. They ought to feel badly about it, for, as we say, it is, in a measure, their work. The seven wretches in Chicago have been told over and over again by these gentlemen that the inequalities that existed in our society were wicked and could easily be remedied, and that while one man had nothing no one else had a right to anything. They have, we say, heard these things, in season and out of season, until they thought that they needed only to explode a little dynamite to bring in the millenium. And while they are alone legally responsible for their acts there are others who can not be allowed to escape some share of the moral responsibility.

Though Brutus struck the blow which killed Cæsar, it was the thinking Cassius who nerved the assassin's arm.

It is time for the American people to learn that one man is not as good as another. Men are born with different capacities. Physically one man may be a Tom Thumb and another a John Sullivan; morally one man may be an Abraham Lincoln and another a Benedict Arnold; and intellectually one may be a Darwin and another a Brother Jasper. It is perhaps unfortunate that this is so, but it is so. Men are entitled to equal opportunities so far as the law can give them and to justice. But even the law can not make a Lincoln out of a Benedict Arnold. And a man who hasn't the brains or muscle to make more than a dollar a day has no right to feel badly because another man makes two dollars a day, or to expect the two dollar a day man to divide with him or to ask us to defend a tax law which does just that thing—that is, transfers money from the pocket of one man to the pocket of another.

But as things are—and they are bad enough—we are infinitely better off than we would be under any of the systems so confidently advocated by the gentlemen who propose to do what can only be done by Him who said, "Behold *I* (not Karl Marx or even one of the Christian socialists) make all things new."

SOME UNANSWERED QUESTIONS.

We believe it is known who killed Cock Robin. But it has never been decided who struck Billy Patterson, who carried Indiana in 1886, whether the New York election of a year ago was or was not a rebuke to the Administration, what it is that constitutes a Christian socialist, and we believe that even the authorship of the Morey letter is clouded in mystery. To this list of unanswered questions—and it might be indefinitely prolonged—must now be added this, "What became of the Mellen discount."

QUITE CORRECT.

The Franklin *Democrat* is eminently correct when it expresses the opinion that the recent election indicates a desire upon the part of the people of the State to have the benevolent institutions taken out of politics. That's about the only thing the election did mean. Of course the gerrymander had something to do with the result, but the prime cause was the desire pointed out by our Democratic contemporary. We hope that the Legislature will view the situation in that light and will gratify that desire. The question of United States Senator, important as it is, is less important than the question of having a decent administration for the benevolent institutions. We trust, therefore, that the Legislature will not give all its time to trying to elect a Senator, and adjourn leaving Thomas Harrison, M. D., at the head of the Board of Trustees of our hospitals and asylums.

If the Republicans justify the lack of faith on the part of the Franklin *Democrat*, after having won their victory upon the civil service reform issue, they will get their medicine when the next election day comes round. We don't believe that they will fail us. It happens to be for their interest to do what is right in this matter, hence our faith. If they are such fools as not to know their best interests so much the worse for them.

IS HE HONEST?

The Vincennes *News* is an independent Democratic paper which has preached the gospel of civil service reform with a commendable persistency, and this paper says of Mr. Cleveland: "Now it may be that the President is honest, but the appearances are against him." Such words in such a paper mean a great deal. This is not the ignorant denunciation of a Bourbon Democrat or the malicious slander of a Blaine Republican; it is not denunciation or slander at all. It is a plain statement of fact. The appearances are against the President—decidedly against him, and he should be told so plainly. There never was a man who needed to know the truth so badly as does Mr. Cleveland, and we don't believe he gets very much of it. About all that gets to him is sickening flattery or disgusting abuse, and the result of it all is that an honest, independent paper, which in the beginning was a devoted friend of the Administration, is driven to ask, "Is the President Honest?" We wish that we could answer that he was, but we can't.

THE COMING CONGRESS.

We are afraid that the coming session of Congress will be a barren one, not because there is nothing to do, but because 1888 is only two years off. The numerous candidates are already jockeying for position, and nothing is likely to go through Congress which may by any possibility injure the chances of any man or party. A good deal of campaign capital may result from the session, but we don't look for much else.

There is no question which the politicians handle so gingerly as the tariff, and hence they are pretty sure to give it a wide berth, unless, indeed, the free traders ask them to put lumber, for instance, upon the free list. If that proposition is got before Congress in such a way that it can not be dodged, we believe that we can get that much relief; but if it can be it will be dodged.

Of course the silver steal will not be interfered with—that would be quite too much to expect. A few "much needed" pension bills may be passed as far as the White House, but not much farther.

Bills authorizing the erection of public buildings at various villages and the improvement of numerous streams and harbors will probably be popular with the statesmen. We hope our despondency is uncalled for, and that the statesmen may fairly eclipse themselves; whether some of them ever recover from the eclipse or not is a matter of small importance.

WANTED—A LEADER.

The Indianapolis *Sentinel* wants a leader. It wants a good many other things much worse—among them an editor—but it doesn't seem to feel its needs. What's the matter with Mr. Bynum, or Mr. English, or Mr. McDonald, or Mr. Voorhees, and the half dozen other great Democrats who fairly distend the borders of the State whenever they come into it? The Democracy suffering for leaders? It can not be. Perhaps that's what the *Sentinel* means—that it has plenty of *leaders*, but that it needs one great supreme chieftain who will keep the rest of them in order. We can't say whether or not the *Sentinel* is right. If it had said that the party in Indiana needed an accession of brains we should have at once agreed with it. But then the *Sentinel* could not have missed in its party something which it never possessed itself.

The people at the last election seem to have been of the opinion that the party needed a licking.

THE POSTOFFICE.

There have been no removals made by Mr. Jones for some time—at least we have heard of none. That gentleman, in the now famous interview of a year and more ago, said that he intended to keep on making changes until Democrats preponderated in the office very largely, and that he might keep a few Republicans. There are a good many Republicans still left, and it can hardly be possible that Mr. Jones proposes to stop his removals just yet. There are a good many more Democrats on the pay roll than Republicans, but it is not likely that the preponderance is decided enough to suit our postmaster. He believes that the offices belong to the victors, and he has not yet distributed all that he has in his gift. It may be that he feels that he can go no further at present without completely disorganizing the office. He can have no fear of any interference on the part of the authorities at Washington. It must be, therefore, that he is restrained by considerations of necessity.

WONDERFUL FAITH.

We don't believe that the faith of Murray, the Washington correspondent of the Indianapolis *News*, has ever been surpassed. He keeps on writing about President Cleveland's heroic devotion to civil service reform as though that gentleman had never at any time swerved from the straight path. He maintains that the law is being, on the whole, rigorously enforced, and that those who are making such a fuss about the Indianapolis postoffice and a few other things are a lot of impracticable perfectionists who are incapable of taking large views of things. Cleveland, this talented correspondent asserts, is the best President we have had since Lincoln, and his Cabinet is stronger than that of any President since that time, all of which, even if true, is very little to the purpose.

It is needless to say that we can take no such large view as Murray does, and therefore it seems to us not that the violations of the reform principle but its applications are the exceptions. We don't believe that Murray can point to any section of the country outside of Massachusetts, New York and the District of Columbia where the President has lived up to his lofty pretensions. And we call his attention to the fact that his idol has recently declared that offensive partisanship consists in making Republican speeches. But Murray's faith is wonderful.

NOT YET OVER.

We have been speaking of the "recent election." We beg to amend. It is clearly the pending election, for it is not yet over, and it seems to be true in these days that it takes something more than an election to elect.

How Do You Like This?

We long ago learned that it was a hopeless task to undertake to please everybody in the conduct of a newspaper, hence it is hardly to be expected to please a captious contemporary like the *Banner*, and it even finds fault with our clippings, especially one from the Chicago *Times* describing the methods used to defeat Morrison, which stirred up the editor to express himself after this style:

> The "slickest" bald-headed campaign liar of the nineteenth century is undoubtedly the special correspondent of the Chicago *Times* who contributed the article entitled "How Morrison was Defeated." This week's *Crescent* reproduces the article in full. It will pay anyone to borrow one of those papers and read it. Shades of Tom Pepper, look down and weep!

We are left in the dark as to what the *Banner* considers the campaign lie in the *Times'* article. Was it the assertion that Jarrett was in the district?—or that he used boodle?—or what? Perhaps the *Banner* did not anticipate that the *Times* would back up its statements with documentary evidence in the shape of Jarrettt's letters. If the *Banner* man will borrow or buy a Chicago *Times* of last Saturday he will there find a *fac simile* of one of Jarrett's letters and the copy of another, in both of which it is evident that he is loaded with boodle and ready to buy anybody to defeat Morrison. "By the way," says John, in his letter to Williams, "if you know of a good man to assist us, bring him along, and he *will be paid same as yourself*." Now, when the *Banner* man reads those letters we hope he will be calm, and not invoke the shades of Tom Pepper or other of his lying saints, but consider the letters as genuine, at least until he has some proof to the contrary. We here produce both letters referred to, that our readers may see how a "protected industry" works its cards to protect protection:

THE AMERICAN TINNED PLATE ASSOCIAT'N,
ROOM 49, LEWIS BLOCK,
PITTSBURG, October 8, 1886.

Mr. Williams, Caseyville, Ill.:

DEAR SIR—I spent a few days last week at East St. Louis and Belleville looking into the chances of defeating W. R. Morrison and electing Jehu Baker for Congress. I was very much encouraged in believing that this can be done. A large number of workmen at the above places who supported Morrison two years ago are now working hard for Mr. Baker. Morrison is a free trader, and has been the acknowledged leader of the free traders for over three years, and as such can not be esteemed as a friend of labor. Baker defeated him several years ago, and I believe can do so again, as he is a strightforward, honest man, a protectionist, and, though not a rich man, yet one of a large heart and splendid character. His record also is irreproachable. Your name has been given me as a good, reliable man, and one especially fitted to do work among the coal miners in the interest of Mr. Baker. They tell me that the miners are a very large and influential part of the voters of your congressional district, hence we need to put in some good work among them. I am informed that Mr. Morrison is popular among the miners, and if so, then the greater the necessity of work among them. It needs no argument to show that Mr. Morrison is not at heart the workingman's friend. It was only last winter that he informed our committee of workingmen at Washington, who were there to plead against his infamous bill to increase the free list and reduce the tariff, that they must expect wages to continually come to the level of the wages paid in foreign countries. His whole course in Congress has been one of opposition to labor. Miners, no more than iron workers and glass workers and other workmen, can't afford to support such a man, as his principles are all wrong. Now, Friend Williams, I would be glad to have you go among the miners in the district and help us elect Mr. Baker. As I am only a workingman, an honorary member of the A. A. and an active member of the K. of L., I have but little funds at my command. I can, however, manage to pay you reasonable compensation for lost time and your expenses. There will be a committee of workmen there in a few days from this section. I will be there myself in about ten days from now. Please let me know at once if you can accept the proposition, and if you do, I will forward you a small amount of money to start you out. Hold me responsible for everything in this letter. Hoping to have a favorable reply, I remain

Truly and fraternally yours,
JOHN JARRETT,
Ex-President Amalgamated Association.

P. S.—Judging from your name, I would think you to be a Welshman or of Welsh extraction. I am of the same nationality; and possibly you are either a Republican or a Greenbacker or a Prohibitionist. As such you will find Baker a good man to support. I don't suppose the Greenbackers have a candidate in the field.

By the way, if you know of a good man that can assist us in that line, say at Collinsville, you can engage him to assist you on same terms as yourself. I will supply you with the needed funds, all of which will be provided for by our Workingmen's Tariff Club. Answer at once, please. JARRETT.

We presume that Mr. Williams was a willing tool, for a subsequent letter from Mr. Jarrett shows that his Welsh rarebit must have tempted the appetite. It is this letter which the *Times* gives in *fac simile* and of which the following is a copy:

THE AMERICAN TINNED PLATE ASSOCIAT'N,
ROOM 49, LEWIS BLOCK,
PITTSBURG, October 8, 1886.

Mr. Thomas R. Williams, Caseyville, Ill.:

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER—Your favor is just received. I am exceedingly pleased to hear from you, and especially to know you are right on this matter. I will be at Belleville on Friday and would like to meet you there. As I know that it is and has been pretty hard on the miners I will defray your expenses to Belleville on that day if you come. I desire to have a special talk with you over matters. Also bring a good German representative with you. Hold me for any expenses you may thus incur. Till then, goodbye.

Yours truly and fraternally,
JOHN JARRETT.

John is candid and says he has no money of his own, but "our club" has boodle galore. It was well to let the boys know this, as there might be fears of a failure of the ready. That John did his part well can not be denied, and the *Times* correspondent truthfully says:

> It was probably the deepest laid and most carefully executed political scheme of the decade. Every card in the hand was played at the right time, and the victory was complete. No amount of money, campaign work or vigilance could have defeated Baker's election.—*Frankfort Crescent.*

Let Us Know.

Will some of the spoilsmen please inform the world what federal offices in Indiana are still held by Republicans, and in what particular localities of the State the civil service reform law has been enforced?

If there are no federal offices still in the hands of Republicans, outside of a few unimportant postoffices that nobody in particular is fighting for, and if the civil service law has not been enforced, how could the President's policy and civil service reform have lost Indiana to the Democrats?—*Evansville Courier.*

The Effect of Free Trade.

In a recent article in the London *Spectator*, discussing Blaine and free trade, a reference is made to the canvass, popular with protectionists, of representing the free traders as desirous of helping England at the expense of America, which is worth reproducing for its common sense view of a much distorted impression. After speaking of it as a device to raise the anti English prejudices of the voters, it goes on to say that the protectionists have not hesitated to declare that streams of gold have been freely poured out by the Cobden Club for the purpose of corrupting the citizens of the United States and of weakening their patriotic instincts. "Thus," it continues, "words of encouragement, or even any mark of special interest or respect expressed towards free traders by

Englishmen, are more likely to do harm than good, as they would be misrepresented to mean that England had a purely selfish aim in desiring the adoption of free trade in America. As a matter of fact, free trade in America would ultimately mean the end of England's commercial leadership. At first there would be a spurt of manufacturing activity. Then healthy American industries would begin to appear and develop until the natural advantages of raw material, always at hand, would conquer in the competition for the world's purchases, would drive England out of those neutral markets which American protection has hitherto let us make our own, and would wrest from us also that ship building and carrying trade that has been a gift derived from the mistaken economic policy of the great republic."

Protectionists have no answer for such logic as this.—*Chicago Herald.*

Money Defeated Him.

The proofs accumulate that Mr. Morrison was defeated in the Eighteenth Illinois Congressional District by the direct use of money, and that the secret organization of the Knights of Labor was made use of to coerce the votes of members. The Chicago *News*, an independent newspaper, makes distinct charges of bribery. That journal says: "Seldom has the evidence of wholesale corruption been more directly brought home to the parties employing it. Aside from the end to be accomplished, being no other than a deliberate purchase of a Congress district, the source from which the corruption fund came and the manner of its distribution mark a phase in contemporary politics more dangerous to the Commonwealth than the clumsy audacity of half a dozen ballot box stuffing cases."

It is of the first importance to the Knights of Labor that they shall show that their organization has not been used by mercenaries to influence the result at the ballot box in Mr. Morrison's district or elsewhere.—*Philadelphia Record.*

Is the President Honest?

We are all acquainted with Mr. Cleveland's reform pledges.

We know that "offensive partisanship" and "pernicious activity" were tabooed by him, and that he appealed to the Mugwumps, who made his election possible, as the apostle of civil service reform.

We regret to acknowledge that he has disappointed those who had most faith in him.

Not only has he not improved the civil service, he has actually degraded it by appointments beneath contempt, and while he has singled out a man here and there as an alleged example, but really as a tub thrown to the whale, the old spoils machine has gone right along in the old groove and the old disgraceful scenes have been brazenly re-enacted.

Now, it may be that the President is honest in his course, but the appearances are against him. We know he is surrounded by a bad set of men who have been loud in their pretenses of reform but who in reality are spoilsmen of the darkest dye, yet it is impossible to believe that they could have deceived him into acts that have brought the Administration into disgrace and have made the professions of the President as well as the pledges of his party a byword and reproach among all honest men.—*Vincennes News.*

Premature Jollity.

In the general hilarity of the tariff crowd over the defeat of Mr. Morrison they have not only overlooked the election of two tariff reformers in Massachusetts in manufacturing districts where the tariff was made the distinct issue of the fight, but they have not yet had time to think of one very important fact connected with the national finances which will soon be pressing upon their attention. The November statement of the public debt shows that there are only $86,858,700 of 3 per cent. bonds outstanding. Of this amount $12,000,000 have been called, and the calls have matured, and $10,000,000 more have been called upon which interest will cease next month, leaving, say, $64,000,000 outstanding on the first of January next. All these will be absorbed before the end of the present fiscal year (June 30, 1887), that is, before the next Congress meets in regular session. What is to be done with the surplus revenue after these bonds are paid off? It can not accumulate in the Treasury at the rate of $100,000,000 per year without producing a financial crisis of tremendous proportions. Nor can any way be devised for spending it honestly. Possibly the Secretary of the Treasury may buy 4½ per cents. in the open market to the amount of the sinking fund under that clause of the law which requires him to apply the revenues to the "purchase or payment" of 1 per cent. of the public debt each year. But it is doubtful whether the holders of the bonds will sell them to the required amount, seeing that a great many 3 per cents. upon which interest has ceased are still retained by the owners. The pressing and unavoidable question coming before Congress this winter will be the reduction of taxes, and this will resolve itself practically into the question whether the reduction shall be made on the tariff or on whisky and tobacco. Probably the high tariff crowd will conclude to cut the Louisiana planters adrift and make the necessary reduction on the sugar duties. There would be less howling in consequence of this step than there would be among the temperance people everywhere if a measure were passed in favor of free whisky. Whatever may be done it is certain that there will be less chuckling in the tariff crowd when they come to take action on the surplus revenues than there is now in contemplating the defeat of Mr. Morrison.—*New York Evening Post.*

A Step Backward.

Whatever be the merits of the Benton case, in which the President has restored a district attorney whom he had removed for offensive partisanship, the President's reasons for his action are pretty sure to cause him a deal of trouble. Mr. Benton, the district attorney for the Western District of Missouri, made appointments for campaign speeches in various parts of the State from September 29 till about the end of October. On hearing of it the President treated it as a violation of his order of July 19, and removed him. Mr. Benton then came forward, and put in the plea that his official business did not suffer by his political activity, and the President has thereupon restored him. He accepts the excuse that Mr. Benton did not permit "campaign engagements to interfere with the performance of official duty." But he accepts it with the following qualification:

> I did not intend to condemn the making of a political speech by a federal official to his neighbors and friends at any time and place where it was merely incidental, if the speech itself was decent and fair. But I do not think that such an official can enter as a business a political campaign, and, consenting to a long list of engagements to address political meetings, widely separated and of daily recurrence, fill such engagements without neglecting his duty if he holds an office worth having, nor without taking with him in the canvass his official power and influence. Therefore this course is condemned. The number of speeches that can be

properly made can not be specified, nor the time when, the place where, nor the circumstances in which they are proper; nor can their character be prescribed. But a correct line of conduct can be determined on without difficulty I believe, in the light of a desire to follow the spirit of the admonition given given by divorcing the conduct of a citizen from the use of official influence in political campaigns, illustrating at all times the truth that official duty is paramount to partisan service, maintaining the dignity of office holding, avoiding any pretence of control over the political action of others by reason of official place, and teaching the lesson to the people that public positions are not bestowed or held under a pledge of active partisan service.

Now, we submit, with all due respect, that under this ruling "a correct line of conduct" can not be, and, by the great body of office holders, will not be, "determined on without difficulty." In truth, it is hard to avoid looking on it as a virtual annulment of the order of July 19, for it to all intents and purposes restores the old state of things. Under the old state of things we do not believe that any office holder ever admitted that his official duty had suffered by his campaigning. He always maintained that his absence from his office and the expenditure of his time and energy in political work did not in reality cause any damage to the public service. He either got ahead in his work before he left home, or he got rid of the arrears after he got home, or he made ample provision for its performance by substitutes or subordinates. We may safely challenge the production during the twenty-five years of Republican administration, unbounded as the activity of the office holders was, of a single confession that the government suffered through the campaigning of its officers or their attendance at conventions. Every one of them, if called to account, would have said exactly what Mr. Benton says in his letter of excuse. And if he be excusable and the order of July 19 does not cover his case, it ought to have been differently worded. It ought to have said that office holders might be as active in politics as they pleased, provided that their activity did not, *in their judgment*, interfere with their official duty.

Now, one of the great aims of civil service reform is to withdraw this matter as far as practicable from the judgment of the office holders. The President's order was understood to mean that subordinate officers were not to be allowed any longer to determine how much of their time and energy they would give to official work and how much to political work. It was supposed to settle it finally that the government paid for the cream of each man's powers, and for his best work on certain days and at certain hours, and not simply for what vitality and capacity he might have left, after running around the country making stump speeches and managing conventions. The restoration of Mr. Benton seems to us to plunge the whole matter once more into that vagueness and uncertainty out of which all the abuses sprang. We supposed that a positive and definite rule had been substituted for the interested notions of 100,000 office holders, each probably holding a different view of his duty. We supposed also that a check had been put on the practice by small officials of publicly denouncing that portion of the community from which they draw half their salaries, and of candidates who may at any election become their superior officers. But it seems as if we were just where we were last June, and as if the term "offensive partisanship" were again surrounded by the obscurity which for some time after Mr. Cleveland came into office deprived it of a large part of its value.—*New York Evening Post.*

A Sad Lack of Faith.

The Republicans made their fight for the control of the State largely upon the question of non-partisan control for the benevolent institutions. We understand by this that the several boards of trustees shall be composed both of Democrats and Republicans, and that the several hundred employes shall be selected with a view to fitness rather than with reference to politics; that these employes, when selected, shall be equally divided between the two parties, but shall take no part in politics except to exercise the right of suffrage. This was the fight which the Republican party made on the benevolent institutions, and it now remains to be seen whether they will elect such non-partisan boards if they secure a majority, by any hook or crook, upon joint ballot in the Legislature. We do not believe they will, for we regard all their professions as a sham and a fraud, and intent to deceive the voter into voting their ticket. There is no question but such an arrangement would be far better than the present one, not only for the people but for the inmates of the institutions, and we trust that the Democrats will elect such boards if the Republicans do not steal their majority on joint ballot. We regard the late election as indicating such a desire upon the part of the people.—*Franklin Democrat.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 18.

To the Editor of the Freeman:

SIR—Enclosed you will find $1, for which please send me THE FREEMAN for a year from and including the next issue.

Your efforts in behalf of civil service reform should be supported by every lover of good, clean government.

I have been taking the Boston *Civil Service Record* for years, and shall continue to take it, but being a Hoosier, with some old State pride, I also intend to give my mite toward sustaining your enterprise. I wish you the greatest success imaginable. Respectfully yours,

GEO. SIMMONS.

CONGRESS AND THE TARIFF.

Mr. Everett P. Wheeler on the Prospects of an Early Revision—How New York Congressmen Stand.

In conversation yesterday with a representative of the *Star* Mr. Everett P. Wheeler expressed his views as to the effect of the recent Congressional elections, and the prospects for a revision of the tariff, as follows:

"I do not consider the result of the Congressional elections as discouraging. On the contrary, the gains in Massachusetts, Minnesota and in some Michigan districts and the districts we still hold in Iowa, which was formerly the banner Republican State, show that the manufacturers of the East and the farmers of the West are alike awakening to the fact that the present tariff, in many of its features, is injurious to them both. The delegation from this city, notwithstanding the great and irreparable loss of Mr. Hewitt, whose influence, we doubt not, will still be given in favor of every intelligent effort for tariff reform, is very much in advance of the present delegation on this subject. This appears most distinctly from the answers given by the various candidates to letters addressed to them by the Young Men's Democratic Club.

Amos J. Cummings, in the Sixth District, after quoting the language of the Chicago platform of 1884, in reference to the tariff, added: 'I believe in it, and if elected to Congress shall stand by it in word, letter and deed.' General Bryce, in the Seventh District, and Truman R. Merriman, in the Eleventh, gave verbal assurances of their vote for a bill reducing or repealing the tariff on raw materials. T. J. Campbell, in the Eighth District, wrote a letter pledging himself to do the same. Mr. Cox's record and views are so well known that it was thought unnecessary even to write him. Gen. Spinola wrote: 'I am in favor of a reduction of the tariff as called for in the platform of the Chicago convention of 1884. I am in favor of the admission free of duty of all raw materials which will advance American industries.'

"W. Bourke Corcoran wrote: 'I am profoundly sensible of the imperative need of some revision of the tariff laws. As a general proposition, I am in favor of the free importation of raw materials. I would be glad to assist in the enactment of any law that would tend to relieve American industries from the depression under which they now suffer, and I believe that a measure calculated to facilitate the importation of raw materials would have a beneficial effect upon American trade.'

"General Viele, in the Thirteenth District, pledged himself to vote at the next session for taking up the Morrison bill, and gave as his reason for his adverse vote at the last session that the bill was introduced too late for its proper consideration. He further pledged himself to vote for a 'revision of the tariff duties, including those in relation to raw materials.'

"Gen. Viele's letter was not satisfactory to many of his constituents, inasmuch as it insisted strongly on the necessity of expenditure of large sums for coast defenses. It was the opinion of many that under cover of this proposed expenditure he would not give a cordial support to any measure for the reduction of the tariff. The Republicans nominated a well-known lawyer, Mr. Ashbel P. Fitch, who did give satisfactory pledges on this subject, and the result was the election of Mr. Fitch. As his views on the tariff are directly in accord with those of Mr. Hewitt himself, in his speech at the Business Men's Convention, this can hardly be called a Democratic defeat.

"To sum up, therefore," said Mr. Wheeler, "every member of the next Congress from this city is pledged to vote for a reduction or repeal of the duties on raw materials. The result attained in this city is not surprising when we remember that there is not a city in the country whose manufacturers would be so much benefited by the ability to get their materials cheaper as ours in the city of New York. Our carpet manufacturers need free wools. Our builders need free lumber. All our manufacturers would be glad to get their coal cheaper. The hatters would find it a great boon if the duty were taken off the wool and fur used in the manufacture of hats. The meat packers would be glad if the duty on salt were repealed. The manufacturers of tinware would increase their product and sell their goods cheaper if they did not have to pay the duty of about 30 per cent. on their tin plates. The manufacturers of clothing could get American cloth a great deal cheaper if the duty on wool were repealed. The paper manufacturers and the publishers would be pleased to see wood pulp put on the free list. The commerce of the port would be increased by every increase in the facility for the exchange of American products for those of other countries.

"Even the *Tribune* is admitting that a reduction in revenue has become a necessity, and after its usual fashion, following the example of Mr. Randall, proposes to reduce the revenue from tin plates by laying a prohibitory duty on their importation. In other words, the manufacturers of Massachusetts are shipping unbleached muslin to England. The manufacturers of Connecticut are shipping clocks and other notions. The farmers of the West are shipping wheat. With these goods we are buying English tin plates. Mr. Randall and the *Tribune* propose to prohibit this profitable commerce, and cut off this market for American products, in the hope that some gentleman in Pennsylvania will be able to manufacture and sell at their own price $18,000,000 worth of tin plates. They certainly have never succeeded in making tin plates that were equal to the English article, even with the bounty given by a duty equal to nearly 30 per cent. ad valorem. The proposed prohibitory tax would compel American manufacturers of tinware and canned goods to use the inferior product of Pennsylvania, to the manifest injury of all who would thus be put off with an inferior article. And who is to compensate the American farmer and manufacturer for the loss of their present foreign market?

"The *Tribune* will probably say that this prohibitory tax would enable him to get a home market. To break up an existing profitable business for the sake of possibly securing a new one would be about as wise as the dog which dropped the mutton from his mouth in order to get the shadow in the river. The best way to increase the home market is to repeal the tax on tin plates altogether, and thereby double or treble the American export of tinware and canned goods, just as the repeal of the duty on hides trebled the American export of manufactured leather. It is said sometimes that there is a drawback on the export of goods that are made of imported articles. There are, no doubt, some such instances. But the way the drawback works is this: If a manufacturer uses annually $100,000 worth of imported goods, the duty on which is $40,000, he has to pay this duty at once. If, at the end of the year, he exports all the goods made out of these articles, and the government graciously allows a drawback, he gets his money back from the government, less 10 per cent. That is to say, he has the privilege of lending money to the government and of paying 10 per cent. a year for being kept out of it. Meanwhile, if his business is able to stand such a tax, he at once pays the money over again in duties on new importations, and goes through the same process, losing 10 per cent. annually besides the loss of interest, as long as he continues in business. How much better would it be for his workmen and his customers if he had the use of his money that thus lies idle in the government treasury, and instead of suffering annually such an enormous shave, could use his money in his business, to pay his men and cheapen his product."—*N. Y. Star.*

Tramp Politics.

There could hardly be a better illustration of the stagnant condition of our politics than the various devices which Mr. Blaine's friends are resorting to to keep him in readiness for 1888. If there were any issues before the country in which the mass of the voters felt a real and living interest, anybody who sought the Presidency, or, indeed, any high office, would perforce try to represent one of them, and make it his main reliance. But, in the present condition of public affairs, a chronic candidate like Mr. Blaine is literally compelled to live by his wits. When he gets up in the morning he probably has no more idea what dodge or cry he will rely on during the day than a tramp leaving his barn has where he will get his dinner. "Trust to luck" is, in fact, the Blaine motto all over the country. For a long while his followers relied on "the bloody shirt," which played somewhat the same part in their oratory that, some years ago, a ship wrecked on the Jersey coast used to play in the tales of tramps, who were then traveling in great numbers to Boston from New York as distressed mariners. But this is now worn out. It has become too familiar, and only draws a smile, or, at best, an offer of cold victuals instead of drink money.

An attempt has been made to substitute the tariff for the bloody shirt, but the tariff orator almost always cuts his own throat—figuratively speaking—in full view of his audience, by the accounts he gives of the feebleness and insignificance of the free traders. He is almost sure to represent them as a mere handful of cranks, or doctrinaires in British pay; and, this being so, the folly of keeping a great party a-going, with a magnificent orator and statesman like Mr. Blaine at the head of it, simply for the purpose of resisting them, becomes plain to the meanest capacity.

Under these circumstances his following is driven back irresistibly on the policy of trusting to luck. They trudge along, "keeping their eyes skinned," as the tramp says, and watching closely for chickens, orchards, potato patches, drunkards, and farm houses from which the men of the family are absent. Any little tricks help them along. "A split among the Democrats," no matter how small, though it only occurs in one town, fills their souls with joy, and makes them feel as if there was a good time coming. Or if they can start a Labor or Butler or George movement, so as to draw off votes from the Democrats, they are as much tickled and as triumphant as the wayworn stroller who has thrown his line across the fence among the chickens with a bated crooked pin on it, and finds that they bite freely.

Another device they delight in and think full of talent is dropping their own candidates whenever the Mugwumps support them, thus revealing to the universe the weakness and inefficiency of the Mugwumps as politicians. The admiration felt by the Blaineites for this last dodge is unbounded. In fact, some of them believe it to have originated with Washington, and to have received the emphatic endorsement of Hamilton and Burke, as one of the most fruitful of political discoveries.

The Catholic dodge, too, has been and still is a source of great comfort, and, we think, is on the whole the cleverest of all, although we admit that the knifing of candidates supported by the Mugwumps has much merit. The Catholic vote is a very valuable thing indeed to a politician "down on his luck." But it is an awfully difficult thing to get at without being caught. You have, at one and the same time, to make Protestants believe that you would not take it if it were offered to you, and that you are nearly as far removed in thought and feeling from Catholicism as John Calvin, and to make the Catholics believe that you live in a Catholic atmosphere and have Catholic traditions of one sort or another hanging all over you like a lot of cobwebs, and that any little accident, such as the death of a Catholic aunt or cousin, might any day precipitate you into Catholicism yourself.

But the temperance question is to the Blaine politicians the rift in his lute, or, if he does not keep a lute, the sand in his shoes, the lumps in his mashed potatoes, the cold meat where he expected whisky. There is no man clever enough to make people believe that he hates liquor, while taking a dram whenever he can get it, and this is what the genuine Blaine man tries to do. His efforts to make rum "local," and to "take it out of politics," and to make it "an open question," have all miscarried, and he is now disposed, in sheer desperation, to come out for individual liberty and protection for Republican saloons. But the matter causes him more annoyance than real damage.

Possibly Blaineism may some day turn into real politics, but we think not. It is distinctly a commercial enterprise, and wholly hostile to ideas of any kind that do not pay; and it is in the hands of men whose only idea of public life is the confusion of opponents by little tricks and surprises.—*The Nation.*

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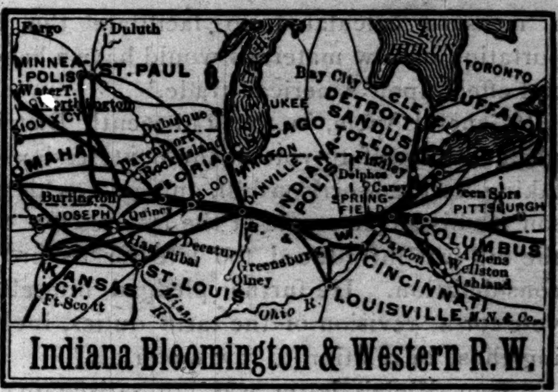

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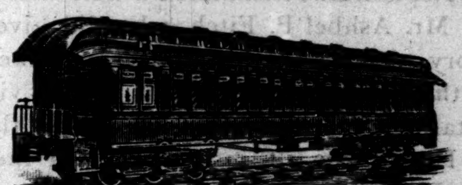

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